

## ELEMENTS OF CULTURE AMONG THE MARICOPA, PIMAN, AND LOWER COLORADO TRIBES (Concluded)

<i>Common to Maricopa, Pima-Papago, and Lower Colorado Yumans</i>	<i>Common to Maricopa and Lower Colorado Yumans</i>	<i>Common to Maricopa and Pima-Papago</i>	<i>Peculiar to Maricopa</i>	<i>Peculiar to Lower Colorado Yumans</i>	<i>Peculiar to Pima-Papago</i>
VARIOUS RITUAL ELEMENTS (Continued)					
Tabu on game killed by young man	All game tabu Noise of inanimate objects ill-omened	Bull-roarer	Bull-roarer a toy Eagle feathers "poisonous"	(Occurs among Yuma) Tabu on deer and mountain sheep permanent	Bull-roarer for rain: call audience First deer Tabu (191)
RITUAL AND DANCE					
Dance form: opposed lines of men and women moving to and fro: rare occurrence of circling dance (170, 183, 205, 289)	No ritual dancing Harvest dance alone called "dance"	Name song (begging dance) (171) Sahuaro brewing and celebration (70, L 51, 93, 119, 148) Elements of Vikita-Navitco dance	Killdeer butterfly performance and dance (in war dance); masked clown (derived from Vikita-Navitco?) "Moving-the-king" dance Prediction by swallowing dirt piles and by smoking	(In Halchidhoma mourning rite)	Little ritual dancing (250) With rain-making Rain-making (347) Vikita-Navitco: masked singers; corn symbolism; rain-making; sun and moon: curing by touching effigies (91, 108, 168, 175, 266, 326, 328) Audience of village groups oriented Salt gathering expedition, with purification (94, L 269)

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## HOPI HUNTING AND HUNTING RITUAL

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The skin is thrown away after all the feathers have been removed. These feathers are considered the property of the men of the clan and are kept in the senior clan house. They are freely used by all members of the clan as occasion arises and may be borrowed by men from other clans for ceremonial dress provided they are promptly returned. It may be noted that at Oraibi, according to Voth,<sup>19</sup> the eagle corpse is buried in the ground along with a small plaque, a doll, and a few rolls of blue piki. Y said that in the old days the men of Shipaulovi would throw the body of only a young eagle into a fissure on the mesa edge, thus burying it the way a child's body is disposed of, but the older birds were buried in the middle of a corn field, together with plaque, doll, and piki, with their heads pointing in the direction of the buttes so that their souls would know the direction home. The adult bird was buried in the corn field because "the eagle is the most important animal friend of the Hopi and the old bird is like a grownup person."

The above account shows implicitly that the eagle is a bird highly valued by the Hopi. Prayer offerings are made in many of the major ceremonies for its conservation and increase. When Eagle katsina dance in the village they are given prayer feathers to deposit on katsina shrines to ensure the laying and hatching of eagle eggs during the coming season. Again, at the winter solstice festival, carved and painted wooden representations of eagle eggs, tied with prayer feathers, are placed on eagle shrines close to the village, also to promote the increase of the birds. These customs, together with those relating to the manner in which the birds are hunted, propitiated, and named, indicate that the eagle complex is integrally related not only to social and economic patterns, but also to the religious thought and practice of the Hopi.

#### TURTLE HUNTING

In this account of the manner in which the Hopi exploit the desert animal life a final note may be added on expeditions made for the purpose of obtaining turtle shells (*yung'i'sona*, turtle) to be used as dance rattles. This has not been done for many years, but formerly expeditions would be planned some time before the niman festival in July in order to provide an abundance of rattles for the dancers. Any man might arrange the hunt (*yung'i'son na k'do*), and it would be announced four days ahead by a Badger clansman. Men from other villages would participate. The men would be away from the village for six or seven days.

On arrival at the river *lemo'vay'i*, a tributary of the Little Colorado now dammed to provide a water supply for the town of Winslow, each man placed a prayer stick on a shrine in a narrow rock crevice, with prayers for rain and success in the hunting. The men then entered the water. Sometimes they formed a line and waded up the river feeling with hands and feet for the turtles. At other times when the water was high, they had to dive to bring the turtles up from the river bed. As they caught them, they tied them together on a rope. When the collecting was finished the men stood in shallow water and killed the animals

<sup>19</sup> *Iidem*, 107-108.

by cutting the skin away from the shell and drawing the body out of the shell by the neck. The body was thrown back into the water in the belief that it would grow a new shell and so be caught again on another occasion. It was important that this work should be done in the water and that no blood or intestines remain on dry land; otherwise the turtle would not be able to renew its shell. The shells were brought back to the village and hung up to dry in the sun, being tested at intervals by flicking with the forefinger to determine the amount of drying advisable to produce the maximum sound. Sheep's hooves were tied to the shells to produce the completed rattle. The Little Colorado tributary was the main source for the supply of turtles. One informant, however, insisted that trips were not infrequently made to the Salt River to hunt turtles, but he could give no details of such long expeditions.

#### RITUAL IN HUNTING

It may be of interest at this point to summarize the attitudes that underlie the Hopi use of hunting rituals. Among other pueblo groups there is a close association between hunting ritual and ritual connected with war; hunting is usually controlled by special hunting societies or else by the war chief.<sup>20</sup> With the Hopi, this is not the case and even where hunting is associated with clan groups, it is with representatives of Badger and Rabbit clans and not with lineages controlling war ceremonial. Hunting ritual, therefore, while drawing generally upon common Hopi ritual patterns, appears to have for its general purpose the stabilization of a definite psychological attitude towards the fauna in such a manner as both to increase the control of the individual over the environment and to conserve and protect the fauna by ritual propitiation.

The Hopi is a skilful hunter and trapper. Tradition and experience teach him the habits and ways of bird and beast; he knows too that success depends in large part upon a well-aimed throwing stick, or upon the ability to shoot an arrow straight and true. Even so, there are times when luck does not come his way, when rabbits are scarce, or eagles nest in inaccessible situations—when, in fact, but for the operation of ritual, the forces that control wild life would render hunting impossible. It is these forces that much of ritual is designed to control or placate and thus to ensure that fortune in the hunt will not be capricious and unpredictable, but regular and uniform. If, in spite of conscientious performance, success is not the result, it is likely that trouble has been caused by delinquencies of personal behavior or evil conduct affecting members of the group, and this must be set right according to approved group standards before ritual can again operate with customary efficiency.

To understand the use of ritual as an aid towards conservation, it may be recalled that the Hopi attitude towards animals, like that of all the Pueblo peoples, is one of respect and esteem. Animals may not be ruthlessly destroyed or wantonly exploited just for the love or excitement of the chase. They must be protected, entreated humbly not to become angry if killed, and urged to give themselves or their young for the use of their human kinsmen. From this viewpoint the phrasing of much ritual becomes clear. The adult eagles are

<sup>20</sup> For instance, at Isleta, San Juan, Cochiti, and Sia.